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ABSTRACT

In 1989, a descriptive study was conducted of internal transfer and articulation within the context of two-year branch campuses of four-year institutions. Data were gathered from a survey sent to the chief executive officers (CEO's) of 408 campuses delivering two-year tracks within a four-year college or university. Study findings, based on responses from 85 CEO's, included the following: (1) internal transfer is affected by many of the same inhibitors that affect other two- and four-year institutions, including elitist judgments about two-year students and programs, enrollment caps favoring baccalaureate track students, arbitrary rulings about curriculum parallelism, and notions about program terminality inconsistent with the educational aspirations of career track students; (2) some baccalaureate progams and providers tacitly endorse transfer-inhibiting practices peculiar to articulation within four-year institutions, including the failure of those in authority to enforce articulation policies or, in some instances, to have articulation policies at all; and (3) alienating policies such as those forcing internal transfer students to reapply for admission as if they were foreign to the institution or those that penalize curriculum sequences similar but not identical to the first two years of the four-year track. These findings indicate the need for more detailed research on the issue of internal transfer. (JSP)

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# Internal Transfer and Articulation

By: Carolyn Prager

Presented to Council of Two-Year Colleges of Four-Year Institutions

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Internal Transfer and Articulation

Carolyn Prager

Higher education institutions have undergone significant organizational change in the last quarter of a century marked by increasing affiliation of programs and campuses within multi-unit colleges, universities, and systems. Approximately one-half of all public campuses, for example, now belong to systems. Many consolidated institutions grant the baccalaureate degree and extend postsecondary access to populations found more typically at community colleges through sub-baccalaureate education. Despite phenomena that have so radically transformed the academic relationship of college faculties to each other and to the students that they serve, little has been written about the multi-campus typology and less still about continuity of students from sub-baccalaureate to baccalaureate education within multi-unit institutions and systems.

The absence of formal inquiry into intra-institutional articulation and transfer is surprising for two reasons. The first is the extent to which transfer and articulation, albeit inter-sector transfer and articulation, has surfaced as a compelling issue addressed by legislatures, state agencies, higher educational associations, foundations, and scholars. This has been inspired largely by social mandates encouraging access to the baccalaureate for those who may have started their postsecondary study in two-year programs elsewhere, usually at community colleges. The second is the extent to which baccalaureate degree granting institutions participate in sub-

baccalaureate education, sometimes as part of an historic mission and sometimes as part of an emerging one to serve non-traditional students. Over two hundred publicly supported colleges and universities listed in recent Peterson's Guides confer bachelor and associate degrees; the number nearly doubles when looking at two-year tracks at public and private campuses of all baccalaureate degree granting institutions.

In the absence of a formal body of research on internal transfer and articulation, the thrust of this study is more descriptive than evaluative, an approach appropriate to a preliminary scan intended to determine whether or not the topic warrants inquiry. It was designed deliberately to make global rather than parochial assessments about how baccalaureate degree granting institutions relate to their own sub-baccalaureate programs, not to compare one institution to another in terms of transfer or articulation competencies. Perspective is inward and downward, restricting discussion of external transfer and articulation policies and practices to the senior institutions' extra-mural articulation of their own two-year tracks. In this sense, the study reverses the emphasis of most transfer studies, concerned as they are with the ascending alignment of two- to four-year programs at unrelated institutions, usually community and senior colleges.

Methodology

The data presented here were gathered from a survey sent in 1989 to 408 chief executive officers of campuses listed in Peterson's as deliverers of two-year tracks within a college,

university, or system also offering four-year curricula. These included public or private institutions with two- and four-year programs offered simultaneously at one or more locations, those with defined branch campuses dedicated primarily to two-year education, and three large public university systems incorporating community colleges. In the end, the desire to sharpen the focus upon relationships within baccalaureate degree granting intstitutions dictated the omission of the community college cohort, since they delivered two-year programs more tangentially related to the four-year institutions. As a result, the number of survey responses actually used dropped from the original 171 received to 85.

The Survey Instrument

The survey instrument was designed to document the degree to which institutions sponsoring sub-baccalaureate education within the four-year context assumed responsibility for mediating access to the baccalaureate by assuring connections between two- and four-year instruction either inside or outside the institution. The survey asked respondents, self-identified as to institutional type, to select one or more of four articulation and transfer outcome possibilities for each of their two-year offerings: (1) assured articulation to one or more but not all baccalaureate degree granting units within the college or university offering the third and fourth year of the curriculum, (2) assured articulation to all such units, (3) assured articulation to one or more colleges or universities outside the college or university, or (4) no assured articulation, either internally or

externally.

Next, information was requested about the articulation model governing each internally articulated program. Was articulation of the two-to four-year curriculum and transfer for two-year completers within the college or university mandated by policy or regulation, negotiated by the two-year with the four-year program deliverer, or assured in some other fashion, to be described? This was followed by a request for a listing of actual programs or tracks for which no baccalaureate degree options existed within the larger institution.

Finally, participants were given the opportunity to respond in as much detail as they wished to a series of general questions about the extent to which they "perceived" upward articulation within their institution to be of concern for all two-year tracks or for particular ones only; to describe any ongoing activity within their state, system, or institution with impact upon transfer and articulation issues; and/or to comment in any way they wished. Only one person availed himself of this space to complain vocally about the strain of completing yet another survey; several others used it to commend the investigator for launching an important inquiry or designing a user-friendly instrument. Since the survey document provided room for voluntary comments within each section, several respondents used these spaces to describe inhibitors to internal articulation, although not specifically asked to do so. In this way, they improved upon a conceptual design that was not without its flaws, the failure to ask specifically about inhibitors one of them.

Definition of Institutional Typology

At the outset, it was posited that the relationship of two- and four-year programs within institutions might differ from programs without common institutional affiliation such as those at state and community colleges, precisely because they were delivered by the same organization sharing the same institutional identity, mission, governance authority, and, frequently, space. To analyze the bearing, if any, that internal structural relationships might have had on programmatic ones, the investigator constructed an institutional typology based on internal administration of the two-year offerings.

This approach yielded four generic categories. The first involved senior institutions consigning first-level responsibility for two-year programs to one or more semi-autonomous units such as a separate department or college organized exclusively to administer such programs, usually in the same geographic community as entities administering four-year programs. The second included small private colleges or universities of 4,000 or fewer enrollments administratively integrating two-year education into units also responsible for the four-year track. The third included campuses dedicated primarily to two-year programs extended by the university through one or more geographically dispersed branches. And the fourth involved large public or publicly supported comprehensive institutions with significant graduate programs integrating the direction of two- and four-year education within common administrative units such as departments or colleges.

Definition of Programmatic Typology

Research on community college open admissions students indicates that the majority, as high as seventy percent according to some studies, have baccalaureate aspirations when entering college. It also suggests that career students continue their education at the same or a greater rate and number than do their so-called "transfer" peers, so much so that this author has referred to the associate in applied science and related diplomas as the "other" transfer degree. Certain specialized accreditation agencies such as the Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology (ABET), the National League for Nursing (NLN), and the American Association for Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) have recognized and accommodated this reality by taking formal stands promoting upwards articulation in engineering technology, nursing, and within a more limited context, business majors (in the case of the AACSB, admittedly not always in ways to the liking of the junior programs).

Extrapolating the transfer proclivities of community college students from the literature, it was assumed very likely that two-year students at four-year institutions had motivations in terms of educational mobility similar to those at public two-year colleges, whether enrolled in career or official transfer courses. Consequently, while this study looks at arts and science, business, and related two-year courses traditionally considered transfer-worthy, it also pays particular attention to majors collapsed here into the broader program categories of engineering technology, applied business, nursing, criminal

justice, human services, allied health, and media technology. The first three were selected for special scrutiny, partly because of the quasi-transfer status accorded them by the accreditors and partly because of the frequency with which they were listed by all institutions responding to the survey along with the other four career outcome programs.

To the extent that these represent seven occupational-technical program areas typically found at community colleges, a context exists in which many baccalaureate degree granting colleges and universities serving two-year students emulate the programmatic emphases and mission of public two-year providers. This being so, comparison of internal and external transfer postures may warrant discussion beyond the scope of this review to see if any correlation exists between how baccalaureate degree granting institutions treat their own sub-baccalaureate students and those from outside the same college or university.

The tables below incorporate data about these seven broad areas of study. They chart the number of senior institutions with articulated or non-articulated programs by categorical program area, not by their actual number of discrete programs. This is in keeping with the original intent of the study to provide a global overview rather than a parochial analysis of internal transfer and articulation. In other words, the count was not duplicated for any institution within a generalized programmatic category, regardless of the number of actual offerings within that category, unless the institution had programs within that category with different

transfer/articulation outcomes. So, for example, if any college or university had one, two, or five programs in the engineering technologies, each articulating only to one or more institutions outside the college or university, the articulation/transfer potential of that college's or university's two-year engineering technology program(s) was tabulated once. Per institution per generic program category, duplicate headcount exists only if different programs such as electrical and mechanical engineering had different articulation outcomes. This was rarely the case.

## Transfer and Articulation Patterns by Institutional and Programmatic Type

### Semi-Autonomous Two-Year Administration

This category encompasses two-year programs headed by a dean, director, or other administrator responsible solely or primarily for two-year programs in an institutional component sharing a common governance system with and geographic location at or proximate to those repsonsible for four-year programs. Thirteen such colleges and universities replied to the survey. They put to the test the proposition that having a designated two-year program advocate on the same campus as four-year academic leaders might more positively influence internal articulation and transfer than does the absence of a designated administrative component for two-year programs. As Table 1 suggests, this may not be so.

Table 1
Articulation Outcomes
Semi-Autonomous Two-Yead Administration

| | internal only | external only | internal & external | none |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| arts/science | 2 | | 2 | |
| business-transfer | 2 | | 1 | |
| business-applied | 2 | | 2 | 3 |
| engineering technology | 5 | | 1 | 2 |
| nursing | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| allied health | 3 | 1 | 2 | |
| criminal justice | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| human services | | | | |
| media technology | 2 | | | |

Since this study aims to be more fact-finding than evaluative, it attempts to avoid imposing qualitative judgments about what constitutes a good or bad transfer record for any single or set of institutions. However, the numbers sometimes gather a valuation around them by default. In the case of three of the seven institutions with applied business programs, for example, two of eight with engineering technology majors, one of three for nursing, and one of three for criminal justice or related programs, the sponsoring institutions had made neither internal nor external articulation arrangements for these courses of study.

Only four of the thirteen schools in this cohort delivered university parallel arts and science or pre-professional tracks, each reporting their smooth transition to upper-level programs within the parent institution. In two instances, this assumed an acceptable GPA. This suggests the need for inquiry beyond the original survey into whether or not in-house two- and four-year

track students have to meet the same academic standards for acceptance with junior status.

The cohort of semi-autonomous programs yielded one clear example of an institution where two-year students received differential treatment reflecting how senior faculty opinions about two-year students and programs controls internal transfer and articulation possibilities. In this instance, a university's two-year technical college reported the total absence of transfer arrangements. Although the university in question offered baccalaureate programs in many of the same or related subject areas, two-year students had to reapply to the university for admission to the senior level. The given reasons for the denial of transfer options centered upon uncertainties that prevailed about the ability of two-year students to complete four-year programs and enrollment controls imposed by four-year faculty.

By contrast, four of the seven institutions in this group had gone beyond the formalities of ad hoc agreements or disagreements and identified radically different but equally effective approaches to enhancing the educational mobility of their engineering technology students. In one case this included creation of a third and fourth year capstone program for associate degree technology graduates, in another commitment to a 2 + 2 curriculum design, in another the planned expansion into the third and fourth year components of certain programs, and, in still another, individualized upper-level curriculum contracts for any student coming from two-year tracks. The transfer accommodation of career-oriented students in the same disciplines

by different schools in different ways demonstrates that routes to the baccalaureate can be found for two-year students, if there is a willingness to do so.

Few of the colleges and universities represented in this cohort had institutionalized that willingness by building student flow intentionally from one level to another into either the two- or four-year programs. In seven of the thirteen, two-year program administrators negotiated agreements internally with senior program administrators, sometimes reportedly under conditions where the mechanics of transfer varied according to the evaluations of those in charge of the respective four-year programs at any given time. Only three of the thirteen operated under state or university policy governing and assuring transfer. One other guaranteed acceptance into a complementary four-year program with a satisfactory GPA; however, any student wishing to transfer into a different curriculum had to reapply to the university for admission to complete a baccalaureate in another area.

Within this cohort of institutions, in general, negotiation of what one commentator has called "peace treaties" predominated as the transfer mechanism establishing a path for two-year students to proceed to the baccalaureate within the parent institution, where such a path existed. This is one factor contributing to the devaluation of transfer. Or, to paraphrase those of one respondent within this group, under these conditions, many two-year students believe they will be penalized if they want to continue at their university and, in some cases,

feel that they would have been better off to have started at another school.

Two-Year Integrated Programs at Private Colleges

The survey netted seven usable responses from private colleges which integrated the academic oversight and administration of two- and four-year programs. Two were church-related colleges; one contracted with the state to provide community college services; one offered instruction through the master's; and the rest were small liberal arts schools.

Table 2
Articulation Outcomes
Integrated Programs at Private Colleges

| | internal only | external only | internal & external | none |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| arts/sciences | 2 | | 2 | |
| business-transfer | 3 | | | |
| business-applied | 1 | | | 1 |
| engineering technology | 2 | | | |
| nursing | | | 1 | |
| allied health | | | 1 | |
| criminal justice | 2 | | | |
| human services | 1 | | | |
| media technology | 3 | | | |

Representing a relatively small sample, these seven institutions operated within diverse modalities yet offered two-year curricula similar to those at other senior colleges and universities in this study. As a group, however, they distinguished themselves from the other generic categories of institutions by the extent of their endorsement of and adherence to transfer principles. Six of the seven furthered the internal

transfer aspirations of their students as a matter of institutional commitment. This was so even in the one instance where the institution did not offer a baccalaureate in the associate degree field but did provide alternate options within existing curricula for two-year students wishing to obtain a four-year degree at the same institution. At the institution providing state-supported community college services, 98% of associate degree graduates proceeded into its four-year majors from a variety of two-year programs in business, computer science, and engineering technology, as well as general studies. Where one institution offered 12 associate degree choices ranging from the arts and sciences to business to equestrian studies, broadcasting/telecommunications, mining technology, and airport management, it was possible for any two-year graduate to continue on for a bachelor's of science.

This sample, limited as it may be, suggests that there may be a tolerance for or even cultivation of two- year program articulation within smaller private institutions that merits further study within the context of transfer enabling or transfer disabling institutional constructs.

Two-Year Branch Campuses

The units represented here extend education, primarily at the two-year level, under conditions defined by Abram Konrad, as follows: "A branch campus, of whatever description, operates as an integral part of a parent institution of a larger system. Its governance structure includes at least one additional layer of internal decision-making, and its educational activities are at

least one step further removed than they are in single campus institutions from the center of public authority." Twenty-nine branches and three central offices with no relationship to the former responded to the survey. Together, they represent one private, two state-related, and 12 public universities with branch campuses.

If a branch is, by definition, a part of one university geographically dispersed, it is natural and, some might say, legitimate to anticipate that the common charter, mission, governance structure, and other elements that bind together main and branch campuses should assure seamless transition to the baccalaureate from associate or other two-year programs. Table 3, however, suggests that this is not necessarily so.

Table 3
Articulation Outcomes
Two-Year Branch Campuses

| | internal only | external only | internal & external | none |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| arts/sciences | 7 | | | 9* |
| business-transfer | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| business-applied | 3 | 2 | 6 | 4 |
| engineering technology | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| nursing | 1 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| allied health | | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| criminal justice | | 3 | 2 | |
| human services | | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| media technology | | 1 | 2 | |

*8 of the 9 were at campuses of the same university

The number of campuses displayed in Table 3 with program areas that limit articulation to institutions other than their own suggests that there may be a level of institutional

indifference to providing internal access to the baccalaureate incompatible with the aspirations of the population being served. If we add programs with no articulation arrangements to those restricted to external ones, 40 percent (n=6) of the branches offering business technology programs, 38.5 percent (n=5) of those offering engineering technology programs, and 30 percent (n=3) of those with nursing curricula at the two-year level had not provided for internal progress to the baccalaureate at the time of the survey. The percentages increase dramatically for most of the remaining program areas reflected in the table.

As a group, the branch campuses expressed concern about perceived internal transfer barriers to a much greater extent than any of the other three institutional cohorts. They also exhibited more discomfort with the question about articulation models. Of the 26 of 29 campuses with occupational-technical curricula represented in Table 3, only two could state unequivocally that articulation was mandated by the university and two that they were required to negotiate agreements directly with senior departments. Another reportedly had negotiated written articulation pacts for the first time the year before. Two others spoke of informal agreements resulting from whatever pressure the two-year campuses were able to bring to bear.

Survey instrument architecture encouraged the separate expression of concern, if any, about two-year programs in general or in particular on a given campus. It is interesting to note that only four branch campuses confined their assessment of internal transfer problems to a limited number of programs. This

was so, even in the two cases where those writing for their campuses endorsed the notion of terminality for some two-year programs. In lieu of selecting an articulation model from the options provided, most of the remaining 19 chose to describe pervasive articulation obstacles and their causes. This included enrollment caps set by four-year programs which had the net effect of invalidating the principle of access, since it curtailed student flow from two-year programs in deed if not in word. This also included student loss of credit because of inexact course parallelism, even within traditional arts and science curricula.

As a variation on the theme of course equation and its impact upon transferability, one two-year campus pointed to frequent credit loss caused by differing curricular sequences of the same major at four different senior units of the university. In the case of a major university with 17 branch campuses, students could opt for the associate degree in arts and science outright instead of the junior baccalaureate track. Those who chose the former, however, reportedly not only often experienced credit loss when moving to the main campus but also had to reapply to the university to pursue the bachelor's as if they were students from another institution. At two other institutions, reapplication with the prospect of credit loss was required to programs in which the university offered the four-year degree such as liberal arts and nursing as well as for those in which it had no clearly defined upper-level options for lower-level students.

The balance of the 19 campuses did not point to specific transfer impediments but did, in the main, express considerable concern about the internal relationship of all two- and four-year programs and their students. The following provides some insight into the general tenor of the remarks. One respondent representing a branch campus with 25 associate degrees, 17 of which had with no baccalaureate degree component with the university, wondered how long the institution could continue to ignore course work already completed in a climate of rising costs for higher education. Another from a campus with nine unarticulated programs spoke of growing concern at the campus level that an increasing number of occupational-technical associate degree students wished to continue their education "at least" through the baccalaureate.

One representing a campus offering traditional A.A. and A.S. "transfer" degrees exclusively stated that policies of individual colleges within the university might or might not guarantee transferability. Another indicated that her campus would like to see resolution of articulation difficulties through reconceptualization of all programs on the plus-two model. Others described the grudging compliance of four-year departments with transfer policies or the plight of two-year programs and students held hostage by the senior departments. Only five of the 29 branch campus respondents indicated that they did not see articulation and transfer as any cause for concern and, of these, three offered only A.A./A.S. or university parallel two-year tracks with assured articulation.

The survey did net one response which uneqivocally dismissed the question of transfer by designating a two-year general studies and a two-year nursing program as "terminal," without further elaboration. There may be some significance to the fact that this annotation was made for branch campus programs by a respondent from the university's main campus. As we shall see below in connection with integrated two-year programs within more comprehensive public or publicly supported institutions, the concept of terminality for two-year programs may well be one that resides mainly in the mind of beholders separated by one or more layers from two-year providers and their students.

Two-Year Integrated Programs at Public or Publicly Supported Comprehensive Universities

This category includes a broad array of single or multi-campus public or publicly supported universities administratively integrating the delivery of two- and four-year curricula at the same location. Of the 36 responses from 33 separate institutions, 29 were from large comprehensive public research institutions. None described delivery systems such as branch campuses, institutes, or other administrative entities dedicated primarily or exclusively to two-year programs.

Some listed 20 or more sub-baccalaureate offerings, some only one or two. Despite such variations of scale, however, every survey response appears to have been prepared by someone several steps removed from the programs themselves. Two were returned over a president's name, eight over an academic affairs officer's, five over an admissions officer's, five over a

registrar's, and six over an institutional researcher's. The rest were authored by an assortment of other higher education staff remote from the programs being described.

Administrative distancing appears to have affected how individuals approached survey questions when several strata removed from actual instruction. The substance and nature of their responses contrasted markedly to those made by individuals involved more directly with sub-baccalaureate education at branch campuses or other units more directly responsible for two-year education the institution at large. At best, the majority of these respondents revealed varying levels of indifference to or ignorance about transfer activity, if any, at their institutions. At worst, some held obsolete views of educational terminality that might have mirrored institutional postures precluding the meaningful linkage of two- and four-year programs and students.

About half of the respondents, for example, simply ignored those parts of the survey soliciting information about prevailing articulation models on their campuses or evidence of concern about transfer, if any. This left the reader to speculate about the failure to respond. Survey fatigue? Ignorance of two- to four-year flow mechanisms? Indifference? Approximately 25 percent drew favorable conclusions about their institutional record, while simultaneously providing evidence of programs with limited or no internal and, in some cases, limited or no external transfer potential as well. In other words, while transfer and articulation data did not differ always greatly in degree or in kind from that presented by other institutional types, perceptual

postures did.

Table 4
Articulation Outcomes
Integrated Programs
Public and Publicly Supported Comprehensive Institutions

| | internal only | external only | internal & external | none |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| arts/sciences | 12 | | 3 | 1 |
| business-transfer | 5 | 1 | 4 | |
| business-applied | 3 | | 4 | 7 |
| engineering technology | 9 | | 3 | 1 |
| nursing | 9 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| allied health | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| criminal justice | 5 | 2 | 4 | |
| human services | | | | 1 |
| media technology | 3 | | 2 | |

In the aggregate, the potential for student movement to baccalaureate study from areas subsumed in Table 4 at comprehensive universities with two-year integrated programs compared favorably to that of other four-year providers. Some institutions did not find articulation a problem because it was not. This was sometimes as true at institutions with a single program as with a dozen. Others did not find articulation a problem where it was, at least as measured by the provision of transfer assurances.

The university within this cohort with the largest number of two-year programs accommodated graduates of its 22 A.A.S. degree majors, either through a B.S. in industrial technology or through other internal and external arrangements. One with 15 university parallel and career associate degree programs guaranteed access to the baccalaureate with no loss of status or credit because of

university mandate. One with 12 associate degree programs, however, listed neither internal or external upper-level programmatic relationships, begging the question by asserting that articulation could be achieved if students planned a program permitting all coursework to be accepted. Another with the same number of programs provided baccalaureate articulation, sometimes to the same and sometimes to a different major, but only at the same university campus.

In general, however, the number of two-year programs within a university seemed to correlate to its articulation activity--the fewer the offerings the fewer the linkages. This was true especially at institutions with secretarial and related programs such as the two for which this was the only sub-baccalaureate program, hardly the curriculum of choice for generating institutional concern about internal or external transferability. Two universities in this group had only two sub-baccalaureate programs each. The first offered an engineering track with and an office communications track without articulation. The second offered a computer program which did articulate and a nursing one which did not, although A.D.N. graduates could reapply to the university for readmission if interested in the B.S.N. Of the two with three sub-baccalaureate programs each, one offered nursing, child study, and computer technology with external articulation only and the other "terminal" allied health programs articulating nowhere. In sum, program volume appears to influence but does not appear to assure the probability of two- to four-year articulation within large comprehensive

institutions.

One can speculate about other factors that might contribute to the level of transfer and articulation effort within comprehensive universities such as the priority given undergraduate-graduate connections. In terms of survey data, however, one can not ignore the extent to which respondents at public and publicly supported comprehensive universities resorted to the concept of terminality to explain away the absence of transfer/articulation activity. Nine or one-quarter of those representing comprehensive universities insisted upon the closure on the educational continuum of some or all of their junior programs. Some referred to "two-year-like" programs, to programs designed to be only two-year, to career exit programs, etc. Others used the word "terminal" outright. (This resulted in an unintentionally ironic moment when one person indicated that articulation was not an internal concern since most two-year programs were meant to be terminal, while stating elsewhere that articulation was ongoing between two- and four-year programs outside of the university because of state mandates.)

Conclusions

From the outset, this study was designed to determine if the issue of internal transfer and articulation is of sufficient consequence to merit detailed investigation. It is. Students from some two-year programs within four-year contexts may have as much if not more difficulty in "transferring" within institutions as do students who begin at a community college and seek entry into a senior one. Indeed, the findings explored here suggest

that problems with internal student transfer and program articulation may be as pervasive within some institutions sharing a common institutional identity as external ones are for some that do not.

Survey data reveal that more than a few colleges and universities with two- and four-year programs displayed some of the same characteristics inhibiting internal transfer described typically by those writing about transfer between unrelated institutions, namely community and senior colleges. These include elitist judgments about two-year students and programs, enrollment caps favoring baccalaureate track students, arbitrary rulings about curriculum parallelism, and notions about program terminality inconsistent with the educational aspirations of career track students.

The data also indicate that some baccalaureate programs and providers tacitly endorsed transfer-inhibiting practices peculiar to the articulation phenomenon within four-year institutions. These included the failure of those in authority to enforce articulation policies on the books or, in some instances, to consider internal articulation of sufficient importance to be on the books. It also included alienating policies like those that force sub-baccalaureate students wishing to pursue a baccalaureate to reapply for admission as if they were foreign to the institution or that penalize them for following similar but not identical curriculum sequences to those in the first two years of a given four-year track.

Several topics deserving further scrutiny have been

identified in passing above such as the correlation, if any, between internal institutional transfer policies and practices and institutional type. As a first cut, this study suggests tentatively that private schools, for example, differ significantly from other four-year institutions in commitment to their own two-year students as measured by the provision of transfer opportunities. It also suggests tentatively that, contrary to expectation, the administrative segregation of two-year programs at branch campuses or semi-autonomous units on four-year ones may militate against rather than contribute to their acceptance by the larger institution. If so, this would seem to warrant further investigation.

For those concerned about the issue of equity in access to the baccalaureate, questions about opportunity for educational mobility accorded two-year students from within four-year institutions should be as socially compelling as about students at community colleges with higher degree aspirations. In this sense, research about the treatment of two-year students at four-year colleges and universities has merit in and of itself. To the extent that the mediation of difference is at the heart of all transfer accord, promoting awareness about how institutions resolve difference about transfer from within should contribute to a better understanding of how institutions can bridge that difference from without.

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